

# The AMERICAN OBSERVER

*A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Madison*



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JANUARY 7, 1935

## Regular Session of New Congress Opens

**Congressmen Expected to Follow Lead of President in Acting on Legislation**

### RELIEF CONSIDERED MAIN ISSUE

**Public Works, 30-Hour Week, Among Proposals to Cope With Huge Problem**

The Seventy-Fourth Congress met January 3. A new speaker of the House of Representatives, Joseph W. Byrns, of Tennessee, was elected and installed. A message from the president of the United States, outlining in a general way his legislative program, was heard. The Congress is now ready to begin several months of important work. During the coming weeks, it will be debating questions of permanent national policy. Much hinges upon the legislative action of this session.

This Congress meets under circumstances far different from those which attended the opening of the Seventy-Third Congress. When President Roosevelt called Congress into special session two years ago, the country was in a state bordering upon panic. It was in the depths of depression. The banks had closed. The economic life was threatened with utter collapse. Action had to be taken and taken quickly to meet the emergency. The president called for the enactment of laws in a hurry. Legislation was whipped through in a day or an hour—legislation of far-reaching consequences. Little thought could be given to permanent programs. The legislation was of an emergency nature, designed to stave off disaster.

#### The Roosevelt Program

The situation is very different today. We are not out of the depression, but there is a general feeling that we are getting out. There appears to be no danger of immediate crash. Congress has time to think and to plan. The president has had two years to formulate his policies for submission to Congress. The national legislative body can give thought now to the establishment of permanent policies rather than to the taking care of immediate necessities.

We shall not undertake in this article to outline the problems which are likely to come before Congress. We shall take up these different questions one at a time as they are debated in the Senate and the House. There will be debates during the coming weeks on many very important issues, on unemployment relief, the 30-hour week, veterans' pensions, taxation, unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, the continuance or amendment of the NRA, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the RFC and other government agencies. There will be debates on foreign policy, on adherence of the United States to the World Court, on the control of the munitions industry, on our policy toward Japan. These questions and others which will arise will be taken up at the appropriate time. This week we shall give our attention to an issue which, from the very beginning, will command first consideration, the problem of unemployment relief.

The policy of the Roosevelt administration toward unemployment relief is clear.

(Concluded on page 6)



—Photo by Charles G. Mulligan.  
CONGRESS DRAWS THE NATION'S ATTENTION THIS MONTH.

## The Pursuit of Happiness

Did it ever strike you as being rather strange that we give so much of our thought to trivialities and so little of it to the central problems of our lives? We are all engaged, for example, in the pursuit of happiness. We long, above all else, for life which is full of security, peace, contentment and positive pleasure. We wish that our days may be free from boredom, that they may be bright, colorful, attractive. But how much quiet and effective thought do we give to the problem as to what makes for happiness and as to how the road to happiness may be hopefully traveled? How much attention do we give to the best possible organization of our activities? We chase this bubble and that. We go after a certain objective which is near at hand, then turn to another. We drift down the stream of life, grasping at straws of satisfaction, hoping to meet our heart's desire as we go along. And then too often we find ourselves dashed against the rock of unforeseen rapids or marooned on barren shoals!

We are starting out now on a new year. Why not make this a time of resolution? We need not swear to do a host of specific things, but can we not determine to study the possibilities of the years before us and to find out what we can do or be in order to gain the maximum of satisfaction and enjoyment in life? What, in the long run, do we most want to do? What will we be able to do? After answering these questions we may chart our courses and become, within limits, the masters of our destinies.

It is commonly assumed that the acquisition of wealth is the most dependable condition of satisfied living. There is but a small measure of truth in that assumption. A minimum of material things we do require, but, given that minimum, larger possessions do not count for much in terms of contented living. We have heard that many times, yet we usually give little heed to it. We go on assuming that if we make money we can go out and buy happiness with it, and we ignore the opportunities of priceless, yet unpriced, enjoyment which lie about us if only we learn to see them.

Your road to happiness may not be the same as your neighbor's. You must study your own disposition, your own likes and dislikes, your own opportunities. Discover your own Promised Land. Then build a road to it and travel that road with open eyes and with unfailing courage. But your first job is the laying out of your campaign for the conquest of happiness. We suggest that you devote some time during the early days of the new year to that challenging venture in personal planning.

## Political Upheaval Expected in Spain

**Powerful Conservative Elements Favor Establishment of Fascist Dictatorship**

### ANOTHER REVOLT MAY COME

**Radical Parties Are Anxious to Safeguard Rights Granted Under Constitution**

Spain is one country which is likely to experience profound changes during 1935. The "democratic republic of workers," established after the collapse of monarchy in 1931, is resting on quaking foundations as the new year begins. Another twelve-month may see democracy abandoned and the country delivered over to a dictatorship—probably of a Fascist variety. Such a development has been in prospect for some time. It seemed so near at hand last October that Socialists, Communists and other extremists resorted to a revolutionary strike and violence in an effort to beat down the Fascist tide. But the revolt was unsuccessful. It cost more than 3,000 lives. Its leaders were arrested and placed in government garrisons and today the conservative factions are strongly in control. Unless the radicals can recover their forces and strike again—this time successfully—Spain may soon take her place alongside Italy, Germany and Austria.

#### Spanish Constitution

If this should happen, one of the most remarkable constitutions ever fashioned at the hand of man will pass from the scene. This unusual document was framed largely under the influence of the Socialists after the downfall of Alfonso in 1931. The Socialists were well represented in the first Cortes, or parliament, elected by the people, and were able to bring effective pressure to bear on the deliberations and conclusions of that body. At that time Spain, just liberated from a monarchy which was sympathetic to the nobility, large landowners, industrialists and militarists, was in a radical frame of mind. It looked forward to a new order of things under a just and democratic government. And it proceeded to crystallize its ideals in a constitution which has since been regarded as a model of advanced liberalism—some would prefer to call it radical.

This document, as has been indicated above, declared Spain to be a "democratic republic of workers of all classes which is organized as a régime of liberty and justice." With this as a start it proceeded to confer wide powers upon the government. It authorized the expropriation of all types of property in the interest of the common good. It permitted the public ownership of enterprises which affect the common interest. The state was given the power to participate in the development of industries and other enterprises if such were deemed necessary. Work was declared a social obligation, and the republic was to guarantee each worker the "conditions necessary for suitable existence." Social legislation to insure against the hazards of health, accident, unemployment, old age, disability and death was provided for. Briefly, every imaginable protection for the common man was taken account of in the Spanish constitution.

(Concluded on page 7)





COMMITTEE of engineers known as the Mississippi Valley Committee, a division of the Public Works Administration, has made a thorough survey of the resources of the Mississippi Valley and has recommended a far-reaching program for the full development of these resources.

The plan, briefly stated, is that all the possibilities of the Mississippi and its tributaries be utilized in the production of electric power. Eight times the present production is possible, it is said, if the whole river system were under unified supervision. The electricity could be used to develop new industrial centers and to electrify from 1,000,000 to 3,000,000 farms. The farms and industries of 31 states would be vitally affected.

The committee advises the government to encourage private power companies to carry on these developments under public regulation. The government, it is suggested, should erect plants and supply electricity in territory not served by private companies, and not likely to be served adequately by them. Flood control, prevention of soil erosion and similar projects would be included in the larger program.

### No More War Profits

"The time has come to take the profit out of war," declared President Roosevelt a short time ago. The president feels that during wartime business men should do their duty just as the soldiers are made to. They should not reap huge profits at the expense of the government and of the soldiers who are sent into the trenches.



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HUGH S.  
JOHNSON

General Hugh Johnson and Bernard Baruch have been asked by the president to work out legislation to be presented to Congress in order to keep business profits low in the event we go to war again. At the same time, President Roosevelt is giving his full support to a continuation of the Senate munitions inquiry, which has already made many startling disclosures relative to the activities of munitions makers.

### Power for New York

When President Roosevelt was in the Tennessee Valley a short time ago, he expressed the hope that cities throughout the country would follow the example of Tupelo, Mississippi, in going into the electric power business. Now the nation's largest city is taking steps in that direction. At the present time, New York obtains the electricity it needs for lighting its streets and its 3,000 public buildings from private electric companies. Mayor La Guardia and other city officials are convinced that the city is paying too high rates to these electric companies, so they intend to have the city go into the electric business and furnish its own power. The national government, which also owns a number of buildings in New York City, is going to give financial aid to the building of the municipal power plant and it is also going to erect one to supply electricity for its own buildings. The two plants, however, will be closely linked.

Shortly after this plan was announced, the Consolidated Gas Company of New York, whose subsidiary plants have been furnishing the city with its electricity, announced its intention of laying open its books to the public. If it should be found that the company is making more than a fair profit, after paying taxes and other necessary expenses, electric rates would be immediately reduced.

City officials are skeptical of the gas company's plan and are going right ahead with their plans for a municipal plant. Like President Roosevelt, they feel that the only way to get private companies to reduce rates is to compete with them. This is another development in the growing struggle over the issue of private versus public

## FOLLOWING THE NEWS

ownership of power—a struggle which is expected to reach an acute stage during the coming year.

### Auto Accidents Increase

During 1934 about 36,000 persons were killed in automobile accidents, setting an all-time record. One person was killed each 15 minutes throughout the year—not a record to be proud of. Surveys show that the repeal of prohibition played a part in this tragic increase of traffic deaths. Another was the growing number of low-cost high-speed cars which were put on the market. There were also many worn-out cars on the road, and they furnished sources of danger. Finally, traffic has increased as business conditions have improved. A number of cities, the national capital for example, have become alarmed and aroused over the increase in automobile fatalities, and are meeting this grave problem by carrying on determined drives against traffic violators.

### Preventing Infantile Paralysis

At a recent meeting in Pittsburgh of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, scientists reported encouraging progress in the search for a serum which will ward off that dreaded disease, infantile paralysis. It was decided that more than 300 children have been successfully vaccinated against the disease and that after a year or two more of experimentation, the serum would be used widely and infantile paralysis would join those diseases like smallpox, diphtheria and typhoid which man has conquered.

### A Federal Youth Service

The National Student Federation of America, a youth organization with central headquarters in New York City, has recommended that a Federal Youth Service be established within the United States Office of Education in Washington. The Federation points out that there are more than 6,000,000 young persons between the ages of 16 and 25 who are unemployed and out of school. Unless quick action is taken to help these young people, the Federation says, they will be a liability to themselves and to the country as a whole.

The proposed Youth Service would be set up for the purpose of making extensive studies of young people's problems. For one thing, according to John Lang, president of the National Student Federation, the Youth Service could make the first systematic, nation-wide attack on the causes of crime among youth. It could also examine into those problems bearing upon unemployment, vocational guidance and leisure as they affect youth.

### Better Times for the Farmer!

The Agricultural Adjustment Administration feels that times are looking up for the farmer. This is revealed in the farm program announced for 1935. During the past year the government has been regulating the production of many of the nation's staple crops, such as cotton, corn, tobacco and wheat, in an effort to keep down the supply and thus assure the farmers of a better price. In many cases this meant that much of a farmer's land was allowed to go to waste. To compensate him for the loss, the government awarded

him benefit payments for these reductions in his acreage. AAA officials feel that the plan has worked out fairly well. They point out that, despite the worst drought in the country's history, cash incomes from agriculture increased \$1,000,000,000 during the year just passed. Now the AAA announces that far less acreage will have to lie idle during the coming year. Corn production will be expanded one-eighth over the 1934 acreage. Hog production is scheduled to increase by 15 per cent, and cotton by 25 per cent.

### Speaker Byrns

Joseph W. Byrns is the new speaker of the House of Representatives. Several months ago it appeared that a serious fight might develop over this post. Following the death of Speaker Rainey, a number of Democratic leaders announced their candidacy for the office in the new Congress. The two outstanding candidates were Representatives Byrns of Tennessee and Rayburn of Texas. Byrns had served many years in the House, was able and highly respected, but was not a man of great force or energy. The president's close advisers favored Rayburn, believing that he could control the Democratic majority more effectively. When it became apparent, however, that Byrns could not be defeated save by a hard fight and possibly not at all, Vice-President Garner, who had been supporting Rayburn, engineered a switch to Byrns and Rayburn withdrew from the race.

This is not the first time that the vice-president has stepped in to bring harmony among the Democrats. He is a greater power than most people realize.

### 1934 Business Conditions

A general survey of business conditions has just been made public by the Federal Reserve Board. Some of the facts revealed by the study are highly interesting and well worthy of attention. The board finds, for example, that for the first nine months of 1934 profits in industry were 70 per cent greater than for the corresponding period of 1933. Lest that statement cause too much joy to the business men of the nation, the board quickly follows it up with information that during the last three of these nine months there was a marked falling off in profits. A large group of corporations, in fact, showed profits 25 per cent smaller than those for the same months in 1933. The board points out, moreover, that while this year's incomes were slightly larger than last year's and wage payments for the first 10 months were in general 25 per cent higher, food prices rose 12 per cent in the same time and are at present fully 27 per cent above the level of April, 1933. Thus we see that what gains have been made by the wage-earners of the country have been considerably offset by rising living costs.

### Borah Flunks

Senator Borah has failed in his effort to reorganize the Republican party. The Republican committeemen of 45 of the 48 states have refused to join the movement to call the National Committee together and oust Chairman Fletcher as Borah demanded. Conservative Republicans naturally oppose the Borah idea because they want the party to remain conservative. Many of the progressive Republicans turn

a cold shoulder to the Idaho senator because they do not consider him to be a true progressive. They say that he wants merely a change of leadership and that he has not outlined a proposed change of policies. So the Borah movement for a more progressive Republicanism falls flat—at least for the present.

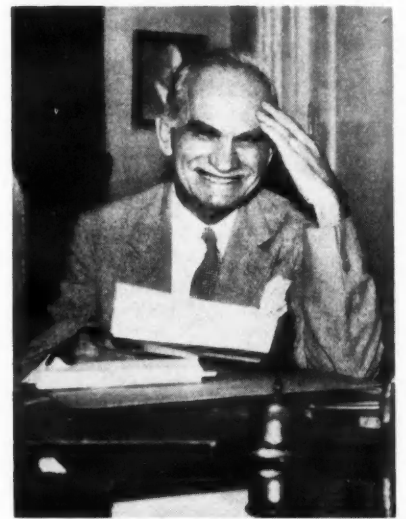
### "He Clicks"

The Washington Post, a morning newspaper which circulates in the national capital, recently

conducted a contest for the purpose of selecting the "best-dressed" man in Washington. After a five-day deliberation, the Post's jury finally acclaimed General John J. Pershing as its choice. The jury declared: "We selected General Pershing primarily because of the excellent manner he has of wearing clothes upon all occasions, military or civilian. . . . He is never fussy, but clean-cut and trim. His stride, when he walks along the street or into a roomful of guests, sets off his clothes perfectly. In short, he clicks sartorially."

### World of Sports

A whole galaxy of new stars emerged to grace the sporting heavens in 1934. The swaggering Max Baer by taking Carnera's heavyweight title became the first real champion since Gene Tunney. Baseball turned up a team of pitching stars in Dizzy and Daffy Dean, who bid fair to make up for some of the color the game is bound to lose with the passing of Babe Ruth. Thanks to Fred Perry, the Davis tennis



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JOSEPH W. BYRNS

cup remains in British hands, and just to make a nice balance Harold S. Vanderbilt's yacht *Rainbow* succeeded in keeping the hotly contested America's cup on this side of the Atlantic. W. Lawson Little took amateur golf honors, while the professional championship went to Olin Dutra. Helen Jacobs retained her hold on the national woman's crown, but professional tennis supremacy is Ellsworth Vines'.

### 1934 Obituaries

The year 1934 more than filled its quota of deaths among the famous of the earth. Four men of international standing fell before the bullets of assassins—Chancellor Dollfus of Austria, King Alexander of Yugoslavia, Louis Barthou, French foreign minister; and Sergei M. Kiroff, high in the councils of the Soviet government. In the United States, William H. Woodin, secretary of the treasury, and Speaker of the House Henry T. Rainey head the list of distinguished men who died during the year, while abroad the world of statesmanship suffered the loss, besides those already mentioned, of Paul von Hindenburg, Germany's aged president; Albert, king of the Belgians; and Raymond Poincare. The death of Mme. Curie, co-discoverer of radium, was a severe blow to science, while the artistic world suffered the loss of the composer Sir Edward Elgar, Otto H. Kahn, patron of the arts, and that great star of the movies, Marie Dressler.

### Soldiers' Bonus

There will be no immediate paying of the soldiers' bonus if President Roosevelt has his way. So anxious was the president to make clear his opposition that several days before delivering his message to Congress he made public a letter restating his attitude. In the letter, which was a reply to Garland R. Farmer, an American Legion post commander, the president declared that the veterans did not need the bonus now, since those of them who were in want were already receiving government aid in the form of direct relief. He also pointed out that preference is shown to veterans in giving out relief work and reminded them that the bonus is actually not due until 1945.



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FLYING CLIPPER NUMBER 7  
Largest plane ever built in the United States. It will carry 48 passengers and was constructed near Baltimore, Maryland, for Pan-American Airways.





# AROUND THE WORLD



**Saar:** Next Sunday nearly 500,000 inhabitants of the Saar region will go to the polls for one of the most interesting elections of the twentieth century. They are to decide whether the Saar basin, with its rich coal mines and large factories, is to be returned to Germany, handed over to France or remain under the control of the League of Nations. The vote itself is not to decide the disposition of the region, but the League Council will decide what is to happen to it on a basis of the will of the inhabitants.

Nearly all the Saarlanders are of German race and language. Before Hitler came into power, the overwhelming majority of them would have voted for a return to Germany. But there are many Socialists and Catholics living in the territory who are opposed to Hitler. Hence a conflict has arisen between Saarland Nazis, who are eager to declare allegiance to Hitler, and anti-Nazis, who do not want to return to Germany until Hitler's days are over. Clashes between the two groups have frequently led to hot words and violence. In order to keep the peace, an international League army, consisting of 3,300 English, Italian, Dutch and Swedish troops are acting as policemen. No outsiders are permitted to enter the region except on urgent business.

About 50,000 of those eligible to vote in the Saar plebiscite no longer live in the Saarland. In order to poll as large a German majority as possible, Germany has induced many of them to return to their former homeland and cast their votes. The cost of their journey is being borne by the German government. About 1,000 Saarlanders now living in America are among those that have returned to vote. Do they renounce their American citizenship by taking part in a foreign election? Some Americans think so.

**Japan:** At 12 o'clock noon on December 29 a gentleman with faultless manner and a pleasant smile was ushered into the office of Cordell Hull, American secretary of state. He was Hiroshi Saito, Japanese ambassador to the United States, and he brought with him Japan's official termination of the Washington naval treaty. At about the same time, Admiral Standley and Norman Davis, who represented the United States at the London naval talks, set sail for New York. The 1934 efforts to produce a new naval agreement have failed dismally.

Fortunately this does not mean that the naval powers of the world will immediately set out to build bigger and better navies. The Washington Treaty provided two safeguards against that. In the first place, it stipulated that although any power could give notice of terminating the treaty before the end of 1934, that termination could not take effect for two years. Secondly, it provided that if any power should terminate the agreement, all those that signed the treaty would meet in conference before the end of 1935. (The 1930 London Naval Treaty, which automatically expires in 1936, also provides for a conference in 1935.) This means that the powers have two years in which to settle the question of naval armaments, and that a naval conference must be held in the near future. Meanwhile, foreign ministers and diplomats will confer with one another and endeavor to pave the way for a new settlement. France, which was almost as anxious as Japan to terminate the Washington Treaty, is already preparing a memorandum on the technical problems that will have to be studied before an agreement can be concluded.

**U.S.S.R.:** Since the assassination of Sergei Kiroff, an important leader of the

Communist party, the Soviet secret police has raked Moscow and Leningrad for possible plotters against the Stalin régime. More than 100 suspects were arrested, hurriedly tried and shot. The assassin, Nikolaieff, was not executed until December 29. Before his death, according to the Soviet authorities, he confessed that his deed had been part of a general plot designed to overthrow Stalin and set up a new dictator in his place.

For several years Stalin has busily routed out his enemies. After the death of Lenin in 1924, his chief rival to leadership in the Communist party was Leon Trotsky. Trotsky was one of the outstanding intellectuals of the Russian revolution, while Stalin was a strong leader who had risen from working-class ranks. Trotsky believed that Communism should be spread everywhere by world revolution, but Stalin was more interested in developing the Russian Communist state. Apart from that, there was little difference in the policies of the two men. Each wanted to fill Lenin's boots as Russian dictator. Although it is difficult to tell whether the recent assassination was planned by Trotsky, who now resides in France, there can be little doubt that opposition movements sometimes arise in the Soviet Union. Zinoviev and Kamenev, formerly supporters of Trotsky, have recently been arrested, but there seems to be little evidence to show that they were implicated in the Kiroff assassination. Trotsky is now living in France and the French government has let it be known that it will not send Trotsky back to Russia for trial if he is wanted.

**Greece:** It is nearly three months since the striking coal miners of Pecs Hungary sulked in their mines and refused to eat or come to the surface until their demands were fulfilled (see AMERICAN OBSERVER, October 22, 1934). But since their unusual method was as successful as it was painful, it seemed certain that some other group would soon be courageous enough, or perhaps foolish enough, to imitate them. Their first imitators were 370 tobacco workers of Salonika, Greece, who imprisoned themselves in their factory for two weeks and barricaded the doors with bales of tobacco. In order to arouse sympathy, they refused the bread that was passed in to them, and hung out bulletins vividly describing their weakened physical condition.

The strikers' principal grievance was a federal regulation which fixed the weekly wages of workers at \$3.80 for men and \$1.98 for women. Workers in other parts of Greece have likewise agitated against this law with little or no success. Although the hunger strike of the Salonika tobacco

workers drew popular attention to their low wages, it was not really effective, for on the day after Christmas, Greek police broke into the factory and the strike was over.

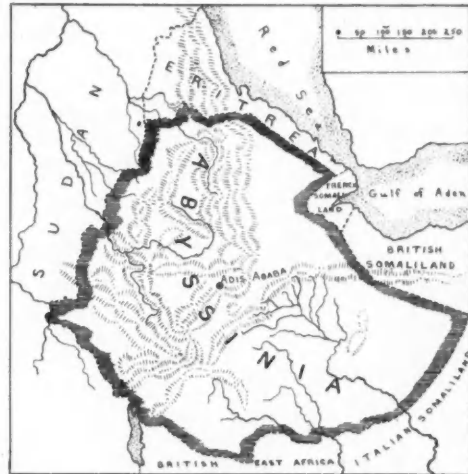
**Peru:** Toward the end of December reports of revolution trickled out of southern Peru. It was said that crowds of men known as the "Apristas" were cutting off Peruvian cities from the mining and farming regions that surrounded them. Since we are likely to hear more of the Apristas it might be well to look over the origins and growth of their movement.

The leader of the Apristas is a young Peruvian named Haya de la Torre, who has traveled all over Europe and Latin America. Not only is he a brilliant student of political affairs, but a clever writer and a remarkable orator as well. He has followers throughout Latin America. In 1924, while he lived in Mexico City, he founded an organization of students, the Popular American Revolutionary Alliance, commonly known as the APRA. His purpose is to free the oppressed South American Indians, to fight against foreign imperialism and gradually to introduce Socialism in South America. The present National Revolutionary government in Mexico founds its political philosophy on the APRA program. Many of the students in the recent Cuban revolution adhered to Haya de la Torre's ideals.

But it is in his native Peru that Haya de la Torre commands widest respect. Observers say the majority of Peruvian voters are in favor of the Apristas and that Haya de la Torre would be their choice for president, if there were a fair election. In 1930 the dictator Cerro came into power, and after his assassination he was replaced by Benevides. Both have held their places by force of arms. Both have tried to crush the Apristas and Haya de la Torre has to keep under cover for fear of being shot. The natural result is that the Apristas are breaking into armed revolt. Experts believe that they will win power in the near future.

**Abyssinia:** About the year 1885, soon after Livingstone and Stanley's African explorations, the great powers of Europe began to carve up central and northern Africa into colonies. The largest share of these was won by France, Germany, Great Britain and Belgium. Italy arrived on the scene too late to get any of the choice

lands, and had to be satisfied with the barren plains of Tripoli, which lies to the west of Egypt, and with two equally hot and unproductive regions in the northeast corner of the dark continent. As the accompanying map shows, these two colonies, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland, lie to the north and east of the large state of Abyssinia. For many years Italy has looked



ABYSSINIA

toward Abyssinia with hungry eyes. She regards it as a prize plum that the other European states have left unplucked. For that reason, there have been border disputes in recent months between Abyssinian forces and the Italian Somaliland troops. Abyssinia has twice appealed to the League of Nations, saying that such clashes are likely to lead to war.

Abyssinia would indeed be a valuable addition to Mussolini's colonial possessions. It is a land of many natural resources: water power, coal, oil, ivory, sugar, cotton, coffee and rubber. But the majority of the inhabitants are tribal negroes, who have little interest in developing their country in a material way. Only the Abyssinian emperor and the ruling classes, who are descendants of the ancient Egyptians, are eager to improve their country. But because they fear annexation by European powers, they try to make improvements with as little foreign aid as possible.

Italy desires Abyssinia not only because it is a rich and fertile land as large as France, but also because its high elevation makes the climate moderate and suitable for European colonization. But Italy will tread warily. Once before, in 1896, she suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Abyssinian tribesmen. She may try to win economic concessions in Abyssinia instead of attempting to annex it.

**Italy:** For nearly a year France and Italy have attempted to reach an agreement to settle their outstanding differences. At length a draft treaty is reported to have been drawn up between Mussolini and the French ambassador to Rome. It will be signed as soon as certain minor questions are cleared up.

The text of the new agreement has not yet been made public, but it is believed to be based upon a proposal of Sir John Simon, British minister of foreign affairs. The principal feature of the plan will be a guarantee of the independence of Austria, since both Italy and France fear Germany and are strongly opposed to any kind of Austro-German alliance that might lead to Austria's absorption into the larger country. The new agreement is to provide that all the lands adjoining Austria, particularly Hungary, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, are to join Italy in guaranteeing Austrian frontiers.



Former residents of the Saar, now living in America, some of them citizens, as they left the United States to cast their vote in the Saar plebiscite on January 13.

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# As the Editor Sees It

Weekly Reflections on Events, Trends and Movements

By Walter E. Myer

ON THE next page of this paper you will find a report of a very thoughtful address delivered by Sir Willmott Lewis, the Washington correspondent of the *London Times*. This address was one of a series which are being delivered in a public forum this winter to Washington audiences. As I have attended these lectures and have listened to addresses which are critical and stimulating, addresses by leaders of contemporary thought on the outstanding problems of our time, I have been somewhat disconcerted by one observation which I have made. The meetings are both well attended and enthusiastic. The large hall is packed on each occasion, but very few young men and women are in attendance.

We hear sometimes that the young people are eager and alert, that they are taking an active interest in public affairs, that they would like to remake the social world if they had the opportunity, but that they, on the whole, have been rather badly used by their elders. We hear that the older people have mismanaged public affairs in such a way as to deprive youth of its rightful opportunities.

I wonder if this blame is rightly placed. Things are not going well, it is true. It is true that our economic world is so disordered that young men and women going out of schools and colleges do not have much of a chance to realize their possibilities. It is true that each of us is in part responsible for this state of things, but is youth meeting its responsibilities any better than age?

What, after all, are the young people doing while the old folks attend these so-called "town hall" meetings where our leading thinkers discuss the vexing problems of our social life and where they later are questioned by those in attendance? What are the young people thinking about? If they are out somewhere having a good time, that may be very well. I have no disposition to criticize standards of entertainment, but I am a little troubled at the many evidences I see that young people are not seizing the opportunity that is theirs to prepare themselves for the building of a better and a safer society. If they suffer because of the tragic disorder in our economic life, I am afraid we must say that they are jointly responsible, along with the rest of us, for the disorder and disharmony with attendant consequences.

A FEW days ago my attention was arrested by an insignificant item in the morning's news. This little item was not of itself at all important. It was merely the story of a fox hunt. In this case a fox, chased by hounds, became so hopeless and so weary that it did a most unusual thing. It ran down a village street and through a yard, and it scratched on a kitchen door, seeking entrance. When the door was opened, it ran into the house and down into the cellar.

Soon the house was surrounded by the hounds, and when the hunters appeared, they went down into the cellar, caught the hopeless and trembling little animal, and then they did something which seemed to me to be very cruel. They took the fox out into the open spaces and turned it loose and set the hounds upon it again. If they had killed it outright the act would not have been so inhumane, but they didn't want to kill it; they wanted the fun of seeing it chased again and of seeing the hounds overtake the terrified little thing and tear it to pieces.

These were quite respectable citizens, I suppose. Fox hunters usually are so regarded. Perhaps they were aver-



FIND THE WINNERS  
—Harper in Birmingham AGE-HERALD.

age citizens. And yet they did not mind seeing suffering. They enjoyed it. Would they care much about human suffering, provided it did not touch them too closely? I am afraid not.

How many people, what proportion of our population, are callous in the presence of the trouble and suffering of others? Is it possible that a great many of them are, and is that an explanation for the lack of effective interest in campaigns for social reform? Do we fail to build a better society because too few people deplore the social imperfections, provided they themselves are getting along fairly well?

And here is another question which came to me. If one is not truly sympathetic, can he be made so? What can we do about it? Does education contribute to the development of altruism and generosity? Does it bring one to the point where he cares for others? Does it enlarge the circle of his real interests or does it merely make him more effective in the pursuit of his narrow interests? These are questions which I shall not answer, but which I commend to the consideration of my readers.

A BODY of scientists met late last month in Pittsburgh and they discussed the possibilities of developments which might come through the turning of scientific discoveries to the use of man. There were exhibits at this meeting of new devices which could be put into operation. One of these devices on exhibit was a solar cooker which has been described as "an apparatus for harnessing sunlight to man's work." "Some day," says the *Washington Daily News*, "an apparatus of this type may emerge from a laboratory into industrial life. What then?" The *News* answers its question with this challenging comment:

With the costless, laborless heat of the sun firing the boilers in factories and power plants, what would become of the men who have been stoking furnaces, mining coal and producing oil? If technological unemployment is a problem now, what would it be then? What about the billions of dollars in savings tied up in what may become obsolescent plants?

These are hypothetical questions since no solar heat collector, commercially practicable, has yet been devised. Such a future as is implied seems fantastic. But who, looking backward over the last 50 years, will say it is impossible?

Just as improbable two generations ago were today's high-speed transportation and industrial mass production, which have left in their wake so much human want and insecurity.

New inventions are a challenge to our business and political leaders, who lag far behind the scientists. Unless our economic system can gear the machine to the common welfare, the machine may destroy us.

This problem of bending machinery to the true uses of man so that it will contribute to happiness instead of throwing our industry out of joint is, I believe, the central problem with which we will be dealing during the coming generation. If you would like to be thinking effectively about this great social issue, there are a number of fairly recent books with which you should become acquainted. One of them is "The Economy of Abundance," by Stuart Chase (New York: Macmillan. \$2.50). Mr. Chase may not be the most profound and careful thinker in the field, but he gives a remarkably clear exposition of the problem. George Soule deals effectively with it in his "The Coming American Revolution" (New York: Macmillan. \$2.50). Both these authors are pessimistic about the unregulated introduction of labor-saving machinery. Charles A. Beard has edited two volumes which are, on the whole, more optimistic as to the role machinery is to play. These books are "Whither Mankind?" (New York: Longmans. \$3.00), and "Toward Civilization" (New York: Macmillan. \$3.00). Probably the most exhaustive treatment of the subject has been made by the economists of the Brookings Institution who have thus far published two volumes of a four-volume series. The two books on the market are "America's Capacity to Produce" and "America's Capacity to Consume" (Washington: Brookings. \$3.00 and \$2.50, respectively). In addition to these books one may find a wealth of material in recent magazines by referring to the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*.

"Is the Republican party passing out?" asks a Dallas editor. Very little at this time—especially post offices.  
—*Detroit News*.

It is natural that the war in the Chaco should be prolonged. Both sides probably dread the peace that must follow.  
—*Grand Island (Nebr.) INDEPENDENT*.

On a witness stand in a Columbus, Ohio, court, a man swore that he didn't think he was dead. A cross-examining lawyer can make a witness uncertain about anything.  
—*Washington Post*.

The millennium will be at hand when the United States pleases Japan.  
—*Roanoke News*.

The White House now has a 1,000-piece set of dishes. It should be a smashing sensation.  
—*Atlanta CONSTITUTION*.



THE BIGGEST THING IN THE COUNTRY  
—Herblock in Winfield DAILY-COURIER.

## Something to Think About

1. About one-sixth of the American people are without incomes or means of support. Should they be supported by the rest of the population, and, if so, should the support come from some branch of the government or from private charity?
2. If some branch of the government supports those who are helpless, should it be the federal government, the states, the municipalities, or counties?
3. Should a distinction be made in giving relief between those who are capable of working and those who are unemployable? How were the unemployables cared for in your community before the depression? Should they be so cared for now?
4. If the federal government relieves the unemployed, should it raise the money for relief by taxation or by borrowing? Should it give direct relief or work relief? Give your arguments in each case.
5. What are the arguments for and against the 30-hour week?
6. After the republic was set up in Spain, what important changes were made or planned in (a) government, (b) the economic or industrial life, (c) the church, (d) education?
7. How do you account for the turning of the Spanish people against liberalism and democracy?
8. What do you think is likely to happen in Spain during the next year or so?
9. Do you think that young men and women in general are more open-minded and more interested in public questions than the middle-aged and older people?
10. Why is it said (page four) that the problem of the use of machinery is likely to be the central problem with which the people must deal during the coming generation?
11. Describe the development plan proposed by the Mississippi Valley Committee.
12. Why is Italy anxious to gain control of Abyssinia?

REFERENCES: (a) What About Public Works? *Harper's*, January, 1935, pp. 146-159. (b) Who Is on Relief? *Scribner's*, January, 1935, pp. 24-30. (c) Heading up the Housing Program. *Survey*, November, 1934, pp. 348-349. (d) The October Revolution in Spain. *Foreign Affairs*, January, 1935, pp. 247-261. (e) Gil Robles: Scourge of Liberal Spain. *Current History*, September, 1934, pp. 682-688. (f) The Spanish Conquest of Spain. *Nation*, December 26, 1934, pp. 727-728.

PRONUNCIATIONS: Jose Maria Gil Robles (ho-say' mah-ree'a heel' ro'blays), Alejandro Lerroux (ah-lay-han'dro lay-rooks'), Manuel Azaña (mah-noo-el' ah-than'ya—th as in think), Cortes (kor'tays), Oviedo (o-vee-ay'do—both o's as in go), Hiroshi Saito (hee-ro'see si'to—i as in ice), Haya de la Torre (hi'ya day la to'ray—i as in ice), Nikolaieff (nee-kol'eff—o as in go, i as in ice), Kamenev (ka'men-yeff), Zinoviev (zee-no'vay-eff).

## THE AMERICAN OBSERVER

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### An Outstanding Journalist—

The best known foreign newspaper man in the United States is Sir Willmott Lewis, the Washington correspondent of the *London Times*. Sir Willmott has distinguished himself as a journalist and a war correspondent, his services having carried him into many lands. He has been stationed in the United States for more than 14 years.

Sir Willmott Lewis is a true journalist rather than merely a news writer. He has schooled himself in history and political science. He is a scholar, a social thinker,



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SIR WILMOTT LEWIS

a wide reader, as well as a first-hand observer of current affairs. In his writings, therefore, on events in America, he does not skim the surface, but interprets contemporary events with the detachment and the learning of a political scientist.

In a recent address before a Washington audience, this distinguished English writer gave a thoughtful analysis of American political problems. Our Congress, he said, is not truly national in its point of view. The members of the House and the Senate represent the sectional interests of their constituents. They think as New Englanders or Midwesterners or as representatives of the Pacific states or the other localities. The American president, on the other hand, is the embodiment of the desire of the American people for nationality. And at moments of crisis when the people are obliged to act as a unit and to consider truly national interests, they are likely to insist that Congress deprive itself of powers it usually has exercised and that it place these powers in the hands of the president so that his will—a national will—may prevail.

### Humanitarian, Not Economist—

The so-called "Townsend Plan" of old-age pensions is giving the administration at Washington and members of Congress something to think about—something, perhaps, to worry about. The president had not intended to submit an old-age pension plan at this session. He indicated some time ago that the time was not yet ripe for such legislation. But the drive for the Townsend Plan, endorsed as it is by millions of petition signers, has become so powerful that, to prevent its

adoption, the president and congressional leaders may be compelled to bring forth a substitute more to their liking.

The Townsend Plan calls for a pension of \$200 a month to all men and women who have reached the age of 60 years. This money must be spent within a month. Supporters of the measure think this pension plan would not only relieve the distress of the aged but that it would stimulate business tremendously. If it were put into effect 19 billion dollars a year would be raised by taxation, distributed among six to eight million men and women, and immediately put into circulation, thus creating a demand for goods and ending the depression, it is claimed.

The author of this plan, Dr. F. E. Townsend, has been a public health official in California. His duties brought him into contact with the suffering of the aged poor, and, since he is a humane man, he has sought a means of improving their condition. This interest led him to think up his now famous plan. In conversation he gives little evidence of profound economic study or of careful thinking on economic problems. He is so absorbed with his humanitarian program that he jumps hastily around the economic arguments which seem to stand in the way of putting his program into effect. Many social workers, while agreeing that the Townsend Plan is unsound, are nevertheless pleased with the reception it is receiving because they feel that Congress will be forced to take action on old-age pension legislation during the present session, and they feel deeply that legislation of this sort should be passed without delay.



**Majority Leader—**The two men upon whom President Roosevelt must depend in putting his program through Congress are Joseph W. Byrns of Tennessee (see page two), speaker of the House of Representatives, and Senator Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas, leader of the Democratic party in the Senate. As leader of the majority party, Senator Robinson will be relied upon to defend administration policies against attack. He will lead the debate on important measures. It is his job to hold Democrats in line.

Senator Robinson is well fitted for his position. He has a strong, powerful voice, and a quick wit. He is a good rough-and-tumble debater, and his long service in the

ment. He is a strict party man, however, and thus far he has given loyal support to the program of the president.



**Sentimental Johnson—**When Donald R. Richberg more or less stepped into General Johnson's shoes as the leading man of the NRA, the two men were on none too friendly terms. They were not in agreement as to the future course of the NRA. The story got out a few weeks ago that General Johnson was writing several articles for *The Saturday Evening Post* in which he was making a violent attack upon Mr. Richberg, both as a man and as a government official. When Mr. Richberg heard about this, he wrote a letter to the editor of the magazine, warning him that legal action would be taken if General Johnson's articles defamed his character. This intensified the strain between the two men, and it looked as if the country would be treated to a first-class quarrel on the front pages of the newspapers.

On Christmas eve, however, General Johnson telegraphed Mr. Richberg, assuring him that he was writing nothing personal or scurrilous about him. He also sent holiday greetings. Mr. Richberg replied in a most friendly manner. The feud apparently is over. As one newspaper writer put it: "Underneath General Johnson's hard-boiled crust, he is as sentimental as old Dr. Pickwick."



**If We Have War—**We are not likely to have armed revolution in this country if we remain at peace. If we should go to war, anything may happen, including bloody revolution. That is the opinion of Philip C. Jessup, international lawyer and former official of the State Department, who contributes an article, "If War Should Come," to the January *Current History*. There is much unrest beneath the surface in all countries, our own included, he says. In its early stages a war might check the unrest. The unemployed would be taken into the army and war orders would stimulate industry. But when the end comes, Mr. Jessup continues, government war orders are canceled; expanded factories close; workers are discharged and walk the streets, shoulder to shoulder with discharged soldiers who have been carefully trained to kill. There will be thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, still sufficiently disciplined, and still with arms in their hands awaiting discharge. Will they obey orders to shoot down rebellious fellow-citizens whom they have not yet been taught to hate as they learned to hate the enemy?"

These are questions which those who think lightly of going into war would do well to consider. Mr. Jessup makes a strong appeal for serious consideration of these problems before it is too late. He



JOHN R. COMMONS—AUTHOR OF "MYSELF"

has no stomach for revolution and believes that we must concentrate our entire energies on effecting social and economic justice through the gradual, or evolutionary process.

### We Recommend—

**Tros of Samothrace.** Talbot Mundy. New York: Appleton-Century. \$3.00.

A long romantic novel dealing with the conquest of England by Julius Caesar. Mr. Mundy has recreated the scene of his story by using Caesar's own account of his exploits and presents a vivid contrast between the manners of the disciplined Roman soldiers and the primitive Britons. The story is seen through the eyes of Tros, a Greek soldier fighting as a mercenary. For those who like adventure with a dash of history.

**Myself.** By John R. Commons. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$3.00.

This is the autobiography of an interesting and unusual man, a man who has won for himself an enviable reputation as economist, professor, investigator and government adviser. He was long a professor at the University of Wisconsin. The life story is written with humor and is brimming over with human interest.

**Molders of American Thought—1933-1934.** Edited by William H. Cordell. New York: Doubleday, Doran. \$2.50.

The editor and publishers of this book have performed a real service by assembling the 20 essays appearing in magazines during the last year and a half which best crystallize American thought. The selection covers a wide range of subjects, including nearly all the arts and sciences. Most of the writers included are well known to the American reading public and represent the cream of intellectual achievement in their particular fields.

**The British Attack on Unemployment.** By A. C. C. Hill and Isador Lubin. Washington, D. C. The Brookings Institution. \$3.00.

At a time when we in this country are considering unemployment insurance and other forms of social legislation, a book of this type fills an acute need. The authors analyze thoroughly the various schemes which the British have adopted during the last 12 years of heavy unemployment and not only explain how they work but offer an objective appraisal of each plan.

But the dollar isn't nearly so well adapted to talking as it is to flying. That's why they put an eagle on it instead of a parrot.

—Washington Post

King Victor Emmanuel is reported to have bagged a huge elephant in Somaliland. Well, his majesty might as well go hunting as hang around home.

—Portland OREGONIAN



© Wide World

WOULD ANOTHER WAR LEAVE REVOLUTION IN ITS WAKE? Philip C. Jessup, former State Department official, is of the opinion that it would.

Senate has made him a master of political strategy. He is not in full sympathy with all features of the Roosevelt program, for he is a conservative and in many respects resembles former President Hoover more closely than he does President Roosevelt in his ideas. For example, he stood out during the Hoover administration against relief for the unemployed by the govern-



# The Seventy-Fourth Congress Convenes

(Concluded from page 1)

The federal government will continue to care for those who are out of work and who would be working if jobs were available. The administration plans that the federal government shall cease giving relief to those who, for one reason or another, could not hold down jobs even if they were to be had. There are about 4,000,000 persons in this unemployable class. There are those who are too old to work. Others are crippled or ill. These are the dependents, the ones who would require some sort of relief even if there were no depression. Such persons, according to the administration's plan, must be cared for by the states, the cities or the counties, just as they were being cared for before the depression. The federal government's job is to relieve those who are in distress because of the industrial emergency through which we are passing.

There are probably about 6,000,000 of the unemployed in the employable class and who are to be cared for by the federal government. More than that number are now receiving relief from the national government, and more than that number will continue to receive relief because the government is taking care not only of those who are out of jobs but of their families. It is estimated, however, that if 6,000,000 persons, or about that number, were taken care of by the national government, and if the 4,000,000 unemployables were taken care of by the local governments, all those now in distress through lack of incomes would be provided for.

## Work Relief

The administration program calls for the national government to supply jobs to all those, or nearly all those, who are without work and who could work. The government has been giving jobs to a good many of them. Secretary Ickes reports that the Public Works Administration has given employment to 2,000,000 persons. These 2,000,000 have not been employed all the time, but the equivalent of a full year's work to 1,250,000 has been afforded, according to the secretary's report. The president proposes to increase the activities of the Public Works Administration so as to give employment to many more. The plan is, therefore, to give work relief,

that is government jobs, to the unemployed rather than to give direct relief or doles; rather, that is, than simply to pay out money to the unemployed without calling on them to perform any services.

This administration program will be attacked from several angles. There will be an immediate fight in Congress against the proposal to throw the unemployables back upon the local governments. It will be claimed that many of the cities and states and counties are unable adequately to take care of their dependent citizens and that there will be suffering unless the federal government continues its relief activities for this class. It is said that the federal government has better credit, that it can borrow money whereas some of the local governments cannot, and that it should take care of all the unemployed. Many of the liberals or progressives, who in general support the president, will take this position.

Opposition of another sort will come from the conservatives. They say that the government is already spending too much money for relief. They point to the fact that it is spending very much more than it is taking in, that it is obliged to carry on its relief work through borrowing, that it is going into debt at the rate of four or five billion dollars a year. They say that if this goes on long enough the government will come to the place where it cannot borrow any more, where people will no longer lend to it. Then, they say, when it is no longer able to borrow, it will print money. If the government puts the printing presses to work to make the money that it needs, the value of the dollar will decline. Each dollar will buy less. To put the matter the other way around, prices will rise alarmingly. Millions of people who have salaries or incomes fixed in terms of dollars will be ruined by the fall of the dollar.

## Economy vs. Relief

These conservatives call upon the government to quit spending just as soon as possible and to spend as little as possible now. They do not advocate stopping all relief measures. They do not advocate letting the unemployed starve. But they say that relief should certainly be given in the cheapest possible way, and they argue that it is cheaper to give people money in outright doles than to start up enterprises of one sort or another in order to give the people jobs. If you give the unemployed outright relief, all the money appropriated goes for relief, but if you start to building houses or roads or engaging in other kinds of construction work and putting the unemployed to work, there will be costs of administration and supervision. There will be profits to contractors. There will be the necessity of supplying materials. It is charged that it costs 50 per cent more to take care of a person by giving him a job than it does to give him direct financial assistance.

We may expect, therefore, a battle in Congress against the extension of the administration's public works program. The friends of the administration will support this program on two grounds. They will emphasize the fact that work relief is better for the morale of the unemployed than direct doles. You may pauperize a man by giving him money without expecting anything from him,

but if you give him a job he will keep his head up. Furthermore, it is argued that if the government engages in construction work, materials will have to be supplied and that this will stimulate the industries furnishing those materials and will give work indirectly to laborers employed in the industries which supply materials—the so-called "heavy" industries, the ones which have been most depressed.

## Governmental Competition

Leaders of the administration say frankly that it would be better if jobs were furnished to the unemployed by private industry rather than the government. It is hoped that private industry will revive, and if it does, the government will step out of the construction business and will allow the private employers to take over the unemployed. Opponents of the administration policy say that the policy of the administration is postponing or preventing that very expansion of private industry which the administration is hoping to see. If the government builds houses or engages in any other kind of business in order to give people work, it will be competing with private industry which might otherwise engage in such activities, and that it will discourage these private industries and postpone recovery. The administration leaders reply that the private industries are already on their backs and that it is because of their inactivity that the government is obliged to start up enterprises and give people jobs.

There are a number of other angles to this problem of relief. There will be a group in Congress who will argue that the federal government need not borrow the money to carry on its great relief program, at least it need not borrow so much of it as it is now borrowing. It could and should collect funds in increased taxation, according to the argument of the group of liberals who advocate the policy of paying as we go. The Federal Reserve Board has just reported that there was a 70 per cent increase in industrial profits during the first nine months of 1934 compared with a similar period in 1933. Let these profits be taxed, it is said. Let those who have incomes pay the expenses of supporting those who do not have incomes.

Conservatives will fight higher taxation and will argue that high taxes would take away from business men the money which they otherwise would spend in business expansion. They could not enlarge their plants if their surplus were taken in taxes, and recovery of private business would thus be checked or prevented. It seems improbable at this time that the administration will call for greatly increased taxes, and if it does not do so it is highly unlikely that a greatly increased tax program will be adopted.

## The 30-hour Week

Still another plan for relieving the unemployment situation has been proposed. This is the 30-hour week. The advocates of this measure contend that if a law were passed forbidding employers to work laborers more than 30 hours a week, the employers would have to take on more men. In order to get their work done they would have to take on so many that all the unemployed of the country would be provided for. There is not enough work to give everybody jobs if each person works 40 hours a week, but there is enough

The  
Entire Na-  
tion From  
City to—

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work to give everybody employment if those who are employed work but 30.

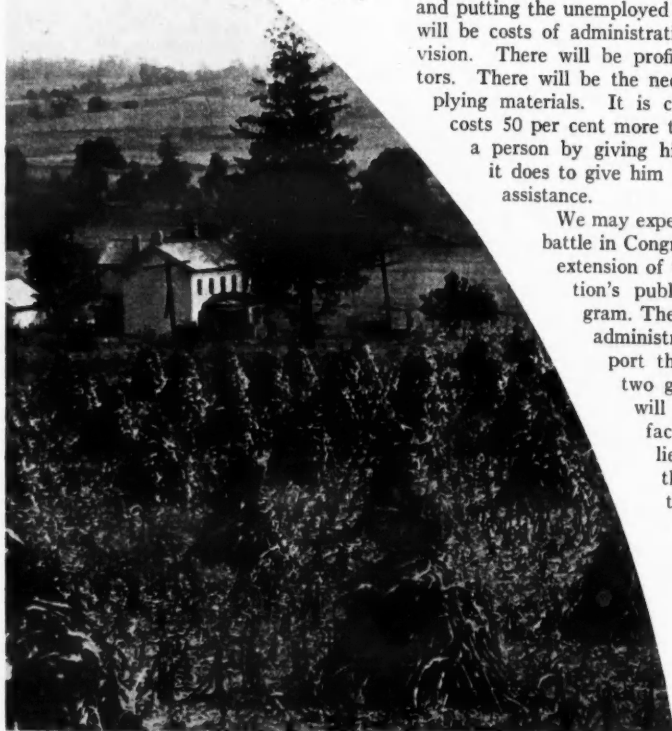
This argument is emphasized by labor leaders. The American Federation of Labor, with all the tremendous power which it exercises over members of Congress, is behind the 30-hour week. Business men in general are opposed to it. They argue that very many employers of labor are now spending as much for labor as they can afford to spend. If they are required to employ more men to get their work done while, at the same time, paying as high a weekly wage as they are now paying (and that is a part of the 30-hour week proposal), their costs of production would be greatly increased. In that case, they would be obliged either to raise the prices of their products, which would be a great burden upon the whole nation, or else go out of business.

The Roosevelt administration opposes the 30-hour week. But it is certain that many members of the president's party in Congress will break with their leader on that point. It is not at all impossible that the 30-hour week proposal will pass both houses of Congress. It is fairly certain that the fight over that point will constitute the really big battle of this session of Congress. If it should pass, the president would, of course, have the power to veto.

On all strictly party questions, the president will, of course, get what he wants, for there are about three Democrats for one Republican in each house of Congress. But few of the big issues will be determined strictly on party lines. Members of the Senate and the House, whatever their party connections, have their attachments to the interests of organized labor or the interests of business men or of farmers or of inflationists or of veterans organizations. There are attachments to many of the special interests and these influences mean more to many congressmen than do the attachments to either Democratic or Republican parties. For that reason, considerable numbers of Republicans will be found supporting features of the president's program and Democrats will be found on the other side. All of which renders the contest which will go on in Congress during the coming weeks more exciting, with the outcome more problematical.

—Country Looks  
to Congress  
This Month.

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Galloway





# Spain Looks Forward to an Uncertain Future

(Concluded from page 1)

The influence of the Socialists in deciding these economic matters was obvious. And there were other reforms which reflected the general trend of thought in Spain at that time. The constitution boldly severed the close relationship which had theretofore existed between the Spanish government and the Roman Catholic church. Catholicism had been the official religion in Spain and had received financial support from the state. Education was largely in the hands of the church. The constitution declared that the state would not favor or aid any church, that all would be placed on a basis of equality, and that education should be given over entirely to lay teachers. Finally, as a further blow at religion, divorce by mutual consent, or on petition of either party on just cause, was allowed.

## Drastic Reforms

There are many other equally striking clauses in the Spanish constitution but enough have been cited to give an idea of its general tenor. With such a constitution behind it, the Cortes, with its heavy radical representation, began to draft laws in order to give effect to the provisions of the constitution. Laws were passed to effect the division of the large landed estates among the farmers who actually till the soil. For generations these enormous estates have existed in Spain and in many sections the farmers could have no hope of being anything but poverty-stricken tenants. Legislation was also enacted to separate the church from the state and to place education under lay teachers. These were the two paramount issues—land and school. Other important beginnings were made but they were secondary to these two larger questions.

But the government soon found that it was easier to legislate than to execute. Despite the vigorous administration of Premier Manuel Azaña, who, while not a Socialist, had strong radical inclinations, it became apparent that the new laws could not be enforced without considerable difficulty. The landowners were powerful. Together with their industrial brethren, they were in a position to cripple Spain economically if they were not listened to. The government learned that it would not

haunt them without incurring very grave risks.

## Religious Issue

Nor did they find the religious problem an easy one to handle. Catholicism has been entrenched in Spain for too long a time to have its influence rigidly curtailed overnight. In many parts of Spain the voice of the parish priest bears weight equal to, if not greater than, that of the government official. The church inaugurated a campaign of opposition against the government, and particularly against the constitutional provision which took all education out of its hands. The Catholic church has always fought for the right to educate the youthful elements of its followers. It was, therefore, determined not to relinquish the privilege without a struggle.

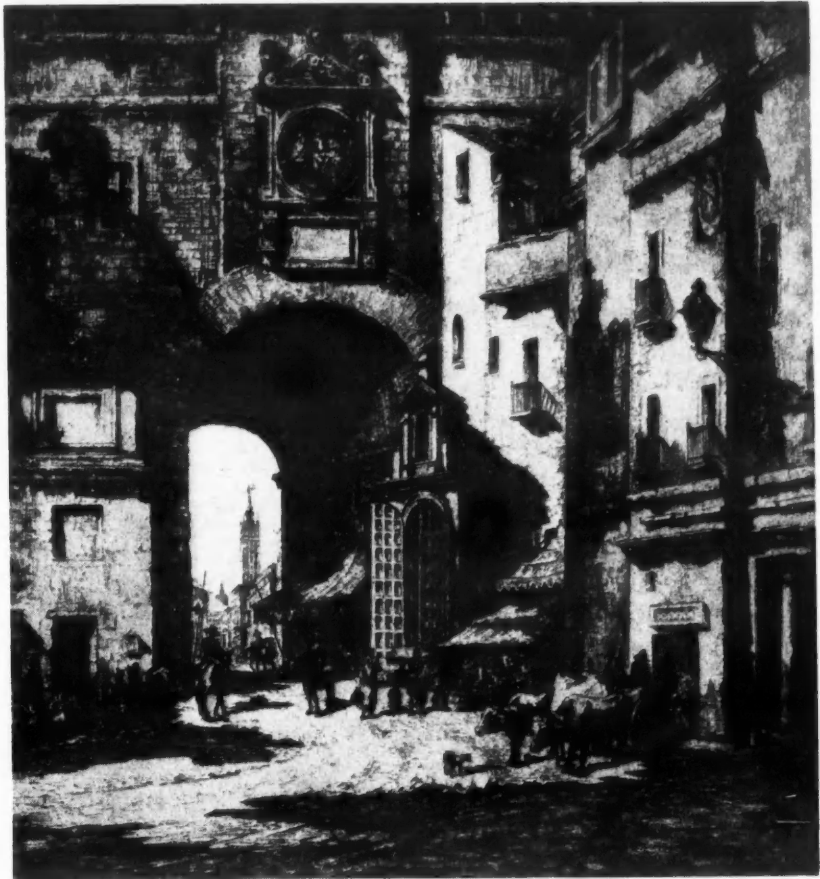
In addition to these sources of opposition, the new government, in its idealistic frame of mind, made certain blunders from a tactical point of view. The women had never enjoyed the right to vote and the government, anxious to correct this situation, gave them the franchise. No one will deny that this step was a laudable one, but it can also be pointed out that it was an untimely one. Women, more than men, are sensitive with regard to religious matters and it should have been clear that at the first opportunity they would use their ballot to thwart the religious changes. It can, of course, be argued that whatever the result the right could not be denied them in a free democracy. It can be said that no reform which does not have the approval of the majority should be enacted. But it still remains a fact that the radicals in control helped to pave the way for their own downfall by giving the women the right to vote.

## Conservative Victory

The downfall came in November, 1933. The reaction against the government became so strong that to curb the dissatisfaction it was necessary to dissolve the Cortes and hold new elections. The elections were held in November and the returns showed a victory for the conservatives. No longer did the Socialists dominate the Spanish government. They had had their opportunity and had bungled it.

Perhaps they tried to do too much at once. They could not expect to turn a nation inside out and not have repercussions. At least they could not expect to do so by democratic methods. Violent upheavals have recently taken place in Russia, Italy and Germany, but in each case the heavy hand of dictatorship was there to crush all opposition. The Spanish radicals preferred the ballot to the bullet. Had they been more adroit they might have succeeded. Many believe that widespread reforms can be accomplished gradually and democratically. Great Britain and the United States have often been held up as examples. But Spain cannot be placed in this category.

As soon as they obtained control of the government, the conservatives began to disregard or repeal most of the reforms established by the Azaña government. The large landowners were placated and the measures against the church were not pushed. Naturally,



—From an etching by S. Tushingham, Courtesy Schwartz Galleries.

## SEVILLE VIGNET

the radicals resented this disregarding of the constitution. They made bitter accusations against the government and began to lay plans for a revolt which would again place them in power. Many Socialists became more extreme in their views and were inclined to agree with the Communists that a violent upheaval and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat would be necessary to oust the vested interests. Many of them lost faith in democratic procedure.

On the other hand, the Socialists were not strong enough in Spain to assure a successful revolution. The rural Spaniard is not, as a rule, socialistic. He is too strong an individualist. He wants so much to be let alone as frequently to be an anarchist—to favor the absence of all government. The anarchist thinks that all problems can be solved directly between employer and worker without the intervention of a third party. The less formal government he has the better he likes it.

## Lack of Unity

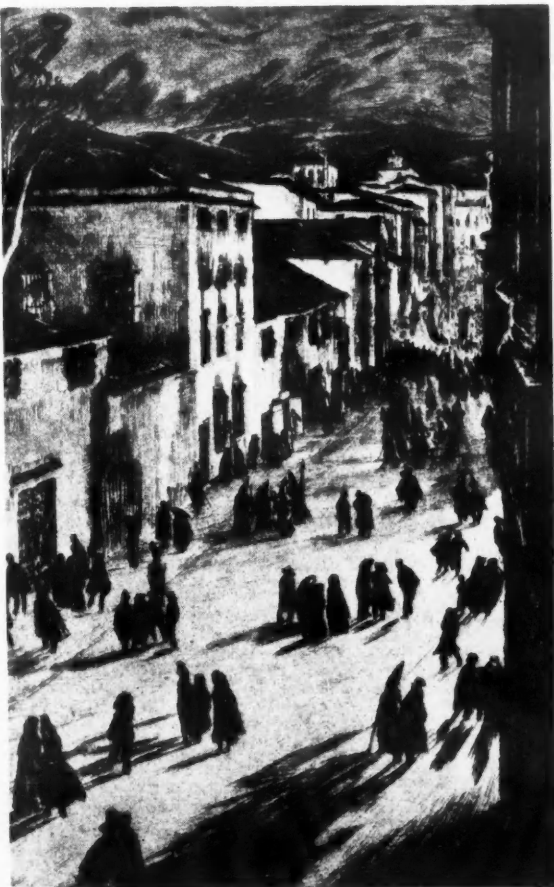
In addition to this the Socialists were weakened because of the difficulty of executing a program of united action in Spain. The country has provinces—Catalonia is the outstanding example—which are anxious to be separated from the rest of Spain and established as independent countries. Spain, it should be noted, is a country divided against itself by high and frequently impassable mountains. In the development of its history emphasis has been placed on local matters rather than national. Different sections speak different languages and have different customs. Thus, Catalonia has been constantly at odds with the Madrid government in its struggle for independence. The Socialists, therefore, could not secure united backing for their program. They were handicapped by strong sectional differences.

The Socialists might never have revolted had they not felt certain that a Fascist dictatorship was in the offing. They were not at all confident that the conservatives, in power would preserve the constitution and the republican form of government and they became really alarmed when they began to witness the steady growth of societies organized for the

special purpose of opposing them. The most important of these societies is the Catholic Popular Action, an organization backed by the Catholic church and headed by an energetic man, Jose Maria Gil Robles. The Popular Action is now well represented in the parliament. Gil Robles has the confidence of all the conservative elements in Spain which fear another socialist-inclined government. It is often said that he is the real ruler of Spain and will eventually emerge as dictator. The present premier, Alejandro Lerroux, has even referred to him as "my successor."

Gil Robles is, of course, a bitter antagonist of Socialism and Communism and the fact that he exerts so much power has placed fear in the hearts of the radicals. Last October he forced a cabinet reorganization and placed three of his own men in it. It was this comparatively minor incident which resolved the Socialists, Communists and other extremists to strike. They made a hasty attempt to overthrow the government, counting upon drawing support from the enlisted men in the army many of whom were known to be radical. But the government anticipated this by scattering the radical soldiers as widely as possible through the ranks and when the test came the army remained loyal. Machine guns and airplanes were used against the rebels. In Asturias, where the resistance was most stubborn, the city of Oviedo was laid waste.

And now the radicals are defeated and their leaders imprisoned. Spain, for the time being at least, seems safely in the hands of the conservatives, who, under Gil Robles, may elect to preserve republican forms or may conclude that an outright Fascist government is the best way to prevent another Socialist uprising. It is more than likely that the issue will be decided during the coming year. A dictatorship may depend upon the degree to which the radicals can recover their strength and threaten the conservatives. If such a threat seems to be growing the conservatives may logically be expected to strengthen their position by establishing a dictatorship. But if the radicals remain weak and disunited the conservatives may be satisfied to leave the governmental structure as it is. The constitution may yet live even if its provisions are being disregarded.



—From an etching by Muirhead Bone, Courtesy Knoedler Galleries.

## GOOD FRIDAY

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